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234 youth or man of the village to which the dairy belongs, but
463 he may be taken from any other village of the clan or from
618 other Tarthar villages, the choice in some cases being restricted
621 to certain clans. The only Tarthar clan which is strictly limited to its own members in the choice of *tarvalikartmokh* is that of Melgars. In all cases this grade of dairyman must be one of the Tartharol; he is never taken from the other division of the Toda people.

[465] When the dairyman is taken from another clan, he may receive certain wages, viz., two cloaks (*putkuli*) in the year and six rupees, together with the loan of a milking buffalo for the use of his family. I have no definite information whether anything is given to dairymen who are members of the clan or family to which the dairy belongs.

[554] The dairyman is regarded by the Todas as a servant, especially when taken from another clan. I was often told that a man was working for another and was his servant, and always found that the so-called servant was *palikartmokh* at the dairy of the village at which the master lived. Correspondingly, there seemed to be no doubt that the dairyman was treated with very scant respect, except on ceremonial occasions and when actually performing the ritual of his office.

234 The *tarvalikartmokh* wears nothing but the *kuvn*, or perineal
292 band, when he is in the dairy, and wears a loincloth called
513 *irkarthtadrp* when milking. When away from his work or
554 when looking after his buffaloes on the grazing-ground, he
558 wears the ordinary cloak, or *putkuli*. He usually sleeps in the
784 outer room of the dairy, but is allowed to sleep at any time in the dwelling-hut. When he goes there he may only touch the sleeping-place (*idrtül*) and the floor (*kuter*). If he touches any other part of the hut, he at once loses his office and becomes an ordinary person. There are no restrictions on the intercourse of the *tarvalikartmokh* with women.

234 When the *tarvalikartmokh* rises in the morning, he leaves
512 the dairy, raising one or both hands to his face as in Fig. 10
788 and saying *Sami* or *Swami*. He often also says this word when getting up from the sleeping-place. He first lets the buffaloes out of the pen (*tu*) in which they had been put for the night and then goes into the dairy to churn. He does not light the

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234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.
554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*On*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

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Melgars people could hold the office of *wursol*, but had no *wursulir* themselves. At the present time the majority of men who hold this office are drawn from the Teivaliol, only two belonging to Melgars, and it seemed that it was only when the supply ran short among the Teivaliol that the Tarthar people had recourse to members of their own division. The Melgarsol do not share fully the privileges of the Teivaliol in respect of this office, for though they may perform the ordinary work of the dairy, there are certain duties of the *wursol*, such as those at the funeral ceremonies, which may only be performed by a Teivali occupant of the office.

The *wursol* has to go through more complicated ordination ceremonies than the *palikartmokh*, and has a distinctly higher degree of sanctity so far as one can judge from the rules for his conduct. He may not be touched by any ordinary person, and in general the rules regulating his conduct are more stringent than those for the ordinary dairyman.

[292] The *wursol* has two dresses; one, the grey garment called *tuni*, which is worn at his dairy work and kept in the dairy; the other, the ordinary *putkuli*, which he wears when not engaged at his special work.

[513] The *wursol* does not sleep in his own dairy, but in one of a different kind, a village which has a *wursuli* always having at least one other dairy. At Kars he sleeps in the *kudrpali*, [834] and at Nòdrs in the *tarvali*. He is allowed to sleep in the hut of a Tarthar village on two nights in the week—viz., Sunday and Wednesday—and on these occasions he may [558] have intercourse with any Tarthar woman. Except on these occasions he loses his office even if touched by a woman. He is not allowed to have intercourse with any Teivali woman, even with his wife if he is married, on pain of becoming an ordinary person.

[574] He may go to any Tarthar village, but to no Teivali village—*i.e.*, if one of the Teivaliol, he is allowed to visit none of his own people.

When he goes to the dwelling-hut, care is taken to remove from the hut the objects shown in Fig. 11—viz., the *murn* or sieve, the *wask* or pounder, and the *kip* or broom. It seems

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234 buttermilk he pours it from the vessel called *ertatpun* into the
272 leaf[1] from which he drinks. When he goes to attend to the
292 buffaloes, he leaves the *tuni* in the dairy and puts on his
415 *putkuli* in a special way which is only adopted by the *wursol*
788 and only by him when engaged in looking after the buffaloes. Placing one end of the cloak over the left shoulder, he brings the other end under the right arm, and, taking this end in his right hand, throws it round the back of his neck so that it

FIG. 23.—THE 'WURSOL' OF KARS, KERNPISI (56), STANDING BY THE SIDE OF HIS DAIRY.

rests on the left shoulder. The result of this adjustment is that the front part of his body is uncovered as shown in Fig. 23. I could not ascertain why the *wursol* should wear his cloak in this special way, nor why this method of wearing the garment should be peculiar to his office.[2]

[1] This is done by folding a leaf in such a way that it forms a cup.

[2] The method of wearing the cloak adopted by the *wursol* is not unlike that shown in a picture at the Guimet Museum in Paris, which represents a Brahman engaged in prayer.

There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
773 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.

834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*On*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pòlmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottün*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

2 1 [The Kugvalir -- Analyst]

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234 554 778 784 793

When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343 351]

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH 'OF KANDORS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

292 793

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must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk receives the special name *perstn*. This is the name of the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

The Teivali Dairy

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairymen so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh* of the same rank.

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar *Iarvali*. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *martir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudaipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the *wurnulir* of Pan.

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a

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234 *Kzwoinörtpet.* A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kzwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.
415 *Tedshk.* Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkzwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi.* It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kuvun* is used in the same way.

Alug. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mòrkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *alug* to the *uppun* or the *mòrpun.* It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *ashkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *tòratthadi.*

Guduboi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs.*

The *mòrpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mòrol.*

177 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained
415 from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
437 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*,
292 he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other, the *pòdrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir.* The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

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The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies.

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *tikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*.

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office.

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Nakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

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He is allowed to go to the *ti mad* on the day called *upkarvnol*, after the *ponup* ceremony (see Chap. VIII), and on that occasion he receives food from the *palol*.

THE KALTMOKH

The *kaltmokh* is usually a boy, but he may occasionally continue to hold office till he is about twenty years of age. He must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgarsol. He is a general assistant to the *palol*, and has also certain definitely assigned duties, such as giving buttermilk to the *palol* and blowing the horns at night. He also takes part in several important ceremonies.

When away from the dairy and its immediate surroundings he wears an ordinary cloak, but always with his right arm outside. When engaged in his work at the dairy or in the *pül* of the *ti*, he must be naked except for the *kuvn*. When he has been away from the *ti* he may not return by the path used by the *palol*, but must use a special path, carrying the cloak folded and hung over his shoulder. At the Mòdr dairy, however, I noticed that the *kaltmokh* sometimes kept his cloak in a tree just outside the *ti mad*, and then went in and out by the same path as the *palol*.

The *kaltmokh* sleeps in the same hut as the *palol*, from whom he receives his food. When there are two *palol* and only one *kaltmokh*, the two dairymen divide the duty of feeding the boy between them.

The *kaltmokh* never goes into the dairy, but he may put his hand into the outer room to take out those vessels which he is allowed to touch. He may never touch the vessels of the inner room.

There are two grades in the office of *kaltmokh*, a lower called *perkursol* and a higher called *tunitusthkaltmokh* or full *kaltmokh*. The latter wears a piece of *tuni* called *petuni* on the left side of the string (*kerk*) supporting the perineal cloth.

The *perkursol* is allowed to go to certain places and do certain things which are not allowed to the full *kaltmokh*. Whenever it is necessary that the *kaltmokh* should do any of

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There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvn*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarvalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvn* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwottin*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirod!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Tuniyatkina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. This string is

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234x 292 793 ordinarily called *pennar*, but is now called *kerk*, and this part of the ceremony is called *kerkatiti*. The fact that this name is given seems to indicate that properly the complete garment should not be given till a later stage of the proceedings.

234x 793 The candidate then finds seven leaves called *muliers* and seven shoots or *nan* of the same plant and goes through exactly the same ceremony at the stream as in the ordination of *palikartmokh*, putting the shoots in his back hair at the end. This part of the ceremony is called *mulinirò̀diti*, and its object is to make the candidate a *palikartmokh* as a step towards becoming *wursol*. He is taken through the lower degree on his way to the higher.

After *mulinirò̀diti* the candidate goes to the wall of the [372] dairy and stands outside it. The *palikartmokh* brings a firebrand from the dairy and lights with it a fire of *muli* wood, at which the candidate warms himself. The firebrand must be one of the three following kinds—*kid*, *pasòr* or *kiaz*. [314] After warming himself, the candidate goes to fetch bark of the *tudr* tree, which must not be cut, but knocked off with a stone. He also brings seven perfect *tudr* leaves, and goes again to the dairy stream. He pounds the bark on a stone and dips it in water, squeezes the water into one of the *tudr* leaves, drinks, throws over his head and puts the bark on one side exactly in the same way as before, but using *tudr* bark and leaves instead of the shoots and leaves of *muli*. After doing this seven times he dips the pounded bark in water, sprinkles his head and face three times, puts the bark in his hair, and, going a little way off, shakes his head.

The candidate then goes again to find bark and leaves of *tudr*, and repeats the whole ceremony and continues to repeat it till he has done it seven times—*i.e.*, he drinks out of the *tudr* leaves seven times seven. After this he goes to the wood near the stream (at Kars, called Tarskars) and the *palikartmokh* comes to him there with the *ertatpun* filled with buttermilk, and with four leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. Two leaves are given to the candidate and two kept by the dairyman, and each folds the leaves in the usual way to make a cup (*ersteiti*). The dairyman then puts the *ertatpun* between his

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(if there are two, as at the Nòdrs *ti*) sleep in the hut of the *ti mad*.

The next day (Thursday) the new *palol* goes to the stream and performs the *tudr* ceremony three times in the morning and nine times in the afternoon; *i.e.*, he drinks from the *tudr* leaves three and nine times seven. On this day the *kaltmokh* milks the *punir*, takes the milk to the *pül*, churns there and gives buttermilk, butter and other food to the new *palol*. On that night all sleep in the *karenpoh* or calf-house.

The proceedings of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday are the same as those of Thursday, except that the new *palol* may now drink the milk of the *punir* like the full *palol*.

On Monday morning the new *palol* enters on his office. In the morning he bathes and then takes off the temporary *pennar* and *kuvn* he has been wearing and replaces them by others made in the same way. A Badaga (the *tikelfmav*) then brings one of the two cloaks of the *palol*, that called *pòdrshtuni*, and lays it down at the outskirts of the dairy. It is taken up by the *kaltmokh* and given to the new *palol*, who spreads it out on the place where the buffaloes are milked. He then takes pounded *tudr* bark, says the *kwarxam* of the gods, of the *ti* and of the buffaloes (see Chap. X) and throws the pounded bark on the garment. He turns the garment over so as to expose the other surface and purifies this in the same way. He then asks himself, "*Pòdrshtuni tutkina?*"—"Shall I tie the *pòdrshtuni*?"—and throwing off the *mad tuni* he has been wearing hitherto, he puts on the *pòdrshtuni*. The *kaltmokh* returns the *mad tuni* to the Nòdrs people, who come on this day and stand on the outskirts of the place.

The new *palol* then purifies his dairy by sprinkling it with water and *tudr* bark in the same way as is done when going to a new dairy (see p. 136). He next takes the *uppun*, puts into it water and *tudr* bark, and turning towards the Nòdrs people with the vessel to his forehead, says three times to them, "*Poh pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the dairy?" All the Nòdrs people cry "*Pûkh!*" and the new *palol* enters his dairy with the full rights of his position.

At some period before entering into office as full *palol*

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At some time before entering into office as full palol

the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished.

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pïil* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Bañ*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner.

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *muli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity.

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirò̀diti* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

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173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on
776 her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At
[292] that time women wore the garment called *än*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oh*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

254 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called
793 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
178 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth of the same kind, called *ān*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual.

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the *tarvali* it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses *tudr* in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti* dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*.

[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

[765] this way by those who throw earth in the *puzhutpimi* ceremony
291 of each funeral.

The *tadrp* is a loincloth worn in the ordinary way, as shown by the first man in Fig. 61. The *tadrp* of a young child has a pocket called *terigs*, but I do not know whether this pocket also exists in the *tadrp* of an adult.

177 Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are manufactured by Hindus,
291 probably in the Coimbatore district. Thirty years ago,
437 according to Breeks, the cloth was procured from weavers
531 who came from Serumuge in Coimbatore, but at the present
463 time the garments are bought by the Todas at the bazaar. When obtained by the Todas they have certain red and blue lines, and sometimes the Todas supplement this decoration by embroidery called *pukuru*, which is the work of the women, and a cloak so decorated is called *pukuruputkuli*. The decoration is shown in Figs. 1 and 9. Some women are especially expert at this work, and one woman who has recently had to change her name is now called Pukuruveli on account of her special skill.

291 The chief point of interest in connexion with the *kuvn* is the string by which it is supported. This string is called *pennar*, or "butter string," and forms a special contribution made by relatives, and especially the sister's son, at a funeral. Further, the string is of especial significance in the dairy ceremonial, where it is sometimes called *kerk*.

Both *putkuli* and *tadrp* are also worn by women. The garments are of the same kind as those of the men and are worn in the same ways.

292 The higher grades of dairymen wear garments called *tuni*,
177 made of a different material, a grey cloth, which has been said
437 to be manufactured by the Badagas of Jakaneri, but is probably only procured by their help. A cloak of similar material called *an* is, or should be, used to enwrap the bodies of the dead; and, as we have already seen, there is some reason to believe that garments of this material may have been the original clothing of the Todas, for in the legend of Kwoten, the wife of this hero wore a cloak of this kind.

000 The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas themselves manufacture a special kind of
287 material called *twadrinar* from the bark of a plant, and this
793 is largely used in the ordination ceremonies. In the ordina-
292 tion of a Teivali *palikartmokh*, it may take the place of the *petuni*; at that of a *wursol*, *twadrinar* may be used as a girdle; and on the fourth day of the ordination ceremonies of the *palol*, the candidate manufactures and wears a rough *kuvn* made of this material. Its use in ceremony appears to be limited to the Teivaliol, and it is possible that it also is a survival in ceremony of clothing once in general use by this or both divisions of the Toda people.

177 Many of the older and more important Todas now wear
292 the turban called *madpâri*, but there is no doubt that this is an innovation. The Todas themselves sometimes speak of the Badagas as "they who wear the turban," and it seemed clear that the custom has been adopted in imitation of these people. Harkness and other of the earliest writers state that the Todas never wear any covering to the head, and there is little doubt that the practice has been adopted during the last century.

292 At the present time a man always removes his turban when
788 performing any act of reverence (see Fig. 10) and when crossing one of the sacred rivers.

292 Mr. Thurston mentions that on his first visit, the man whom
554 he chose as his guide adopted the turban in honour of his appointment, and my guide, Kòdrner, although much younger than most of those who wore turbans, also adopted this custom when he was with me.

METHODS OF WEARING THE HAIR

302 There are various methods of wearing the hair, each of which has its special significance. The ordinary method for men is to allow it to grow to a certain length, so that it forms a compact mass, as shown by the first man of Fig. 61, or as in Fig. 15.

302 When a member of a clan dies, all the men of the clan tie
765 their hair in knots in front till the funeral ceremonies are completed. This is called *mad tutvai*, "head (or hair) who

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XX.

In my desire to witness a Toda's deathbed, as well as all the ceremonies consequent thereon, I had promised a handsome present to anyone who would bring me timely information, whether by night or by day, of an approaching event; when I noticed a lad move off quietly with bright hope on his countenance, and shortly afterwards I overtook him striding over hill and dale, straight as a bird to his quarry. The reply to my enquiry where he was going was translated by the Tamil interpreter, 'Going to see somebody *too much* sick.' He was in fact on his road to some invalid Toda, whose case he thought bad.

When a man is so ill as to lead to the expectation of his early demise, he is dressed up in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, in order that he may make a respectable corpse. These he will wear until he either dies or recovers. Indeed a man who had revived from what was thought his death-bed has been observed parading about very proud and distinguished looking; wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.

When on the point of death, the last office his kin perform for their relative, is to give him milk, if only a drop or two, to drink. No prayer is said, nor are the Gods invoked in any way.

It is well here to observe, as reflecting on other social prejudices, that there is no religious necessity for *a son* to perform any one of the ceremonies attending on a Toda's death and funeral. The laws of Manou style the eldest son 'him who is begotten to perform the duty,' and in consequence of this absolute necessity for a son, we find amongst the Aryas a high importance set upon male progeny. The Todas, however, whilst equally craving for sons, yet do not require them for any such religious object. The pride in male children appears to be based upon less definable causes, so much so as to seem almost inherent in man.

The decorated corpse is now wrapped in a new mantle, into

APPENDIX B.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of ORNAMENTS, IMPLEMENTS, &c. of NĪLAGIRI TRIBES.

TODAS.

No. I.—*Pūthuli*, worn by men and women. *See* Report. The cloth purchased from weavers who come to the Hills from Serumugē in Coimbatore. Rupees 4.

291 No. II.—*Tharp*. Waistcloth worn by men. Purchased from Serumugē merchants. Rupees 1.

No. III.—*Kosu* (ಕೊಸು) Langooty. Procured from Serumugē merchants. 2 annas.

292 No. IV.—*Kōng* (ಕೋಂಗ), worn round the waist over No. II. by men who take a part in the funeral ceremonies. Procured from Calicut. Rupees 4.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGoToda AWGO

ringlets precisely such as ladies in this country wore about twenty or five-and-twenty years ago. On the top of the head the hair is smoothed and parted with the greatest care, and the long ringlets hang on either side of the oval face with a neatness and regularity strangely at variance with their apparently rough mode of life; the hair in both sexes is anointed with ghee, as is also the skin. The female dress on ordinary occasions consists simply of a single robe similar to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand. This, as one very soon learns, generally constitutes the sole garment of the wearer, for the Toda women have a habit, even in the presence of strangers, of throwing open the mantle to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting it on the shoulders. Some of them indeed hardly take the trouble to hold it together in front at all, and this was especially the case at a *mund*, near Coonoor, which, as I was quartered in the immediate vicinity, I had frequently to pass. I used to notice that the men watching their herds on the opposite heights, separated by a wide glen from where I was, would announce my coming by shouting across to the women at home, who were accordingly always on the *qui vive* at the roadside prepared to greet me with their usual begging cry *Enam Kurroo*, "give me a present." The way that these men carry on conversations with one another across wide intervening valleys, and apparently without effort, reminded me of the Kaffir herdsmen, every word of whose voices I have heard from hill-tops at distances that seemed incredible.

I have on occasions of ceremony seen the women with underclothing fastened round the middle in addition to the above everyday costume. I may observe that they often embroider the corners of these robes with blue thread, and shew very considerable taste in the devices.

Neither slippers nor sandals are ever seen among them, men, women, and children alike, going barefooted. The young children are generally pleasing in their appearance. I noticed that the boys up to eight or ten years old are of the same light colour as the girls, the dark hue of later life being gradually developed with each year's exposure to the sun and mountain air until the age of manhood. It is to be noted, however, of the females that, though equally exposed to climatic influences, their complexions remain nearly the same all through life.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

a cloth, which he at once recognised as having something to do with the Todas.

In former times, a Badaga could be at once picked out from the other tribes of the Nilgiri plateau by his wearing a turban. At the present day, some Toda elders and important members of the community (*e.g.*, monegars or headmen) have adopted this form of head-gear. The men who were engaged as guides by Dr. Rivers and myself donned the turban in honour of their appointment.

Toda females are tattooed after they have reached puberty. I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained either on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions, they said, in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles, of which the simple devices are made up,* are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and the pattern is pricked in by a Toda woman with the spines of *Berberis aristata*. The system of tattooing and decoration of females with ornaments is summed up in the following cases :—

1. Aged 22. Has one child. Tattooed with three dots on back of left hand. Wears silver necklet ornamented with Arcot two-anna pieces; thread and silver armlets ornamented with cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells on right upper arm; thread armlet ornamented with cowries on left forearm; brass ring on left ring finger; silver rings on right middle and ring fingers. Lobes of ears pierced. Ear-rings removed owing to grandmother's death.

* *See* Madras Museum Bull., IV, 1896, pl. XII.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanmṛ (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuṃṛjaḷḷ, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kemodṛ (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacmund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. None of these new garments may be worn when the men go inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60.

economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the